

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ROME 07367 01 OF 02 051945Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 /058 W
-----052132Z 022731 /66

R 051740Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4412
INFO AMCONSUL MILAN
AMCONSUL NAPLES
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ROME 7367

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, IT
SUBJECT: POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS BEGIN FOR PROGRAMMATIC ACCORD

REF: ROME 6906

SUMMARY. IN A CHARGED ATMOSPHERE THAT REFLECTS THE SENSE OF THE HIGH POLITICAL STAKES INVOLVED, THE DC BEGAN THE FIRST ROUND OF BILATERAL PARTY NEGOTIATIONS MAY 5 AIMED AT REACHING A PROGRAMMATIC ACCORD ON MAJOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ISSUES. THE DC WILL SEEK TO LIMIT THE AGREEMENT TO SPECIFIC, OPERATIVE SUBJECTS AND TO AVOID ANY CHANGE IN THE FRAGILE POLITICAL BALANCE. THE PCI DEMANDS A POLITICAL AGREEMENT WHICH ADVANCES ITS STEP-BY-STEP STRATEGY TOWARD FULL PARTICIPATION IN GOVERNMENT. BOTH PARTIES FACE STRONG INTERNAL PRESSURES--THE DC TO HOLD THE LINE; THE PCI TO OBTAIN A DEMONSTRABLE "FORWARD STEP."

1. MEETING WITH THE PCI ON THE MORNING OF MAY 5, THE DC EMBARKED ON THE FIRST OF A SERIES OF CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PARTIES OF THE "CONSTITUTIONAL ARC" TO DETER-
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ROME 07367 01 OF 02 051945Z

MINE WHETHER A BASIS EXISTS FOR A PROGRAMMATIC UNDER-
STANDING. IN THE COURSE OF TWO DAYS, THE DC DELEGATION, CONSISTING OF MORO, ZACCAGNINI, DEPUTY SECRETARIES GALLONI AND GASPARI, AND PARLIAMENTARY GROUP HEADS BARTOLOMEI AND PICCOLI, WILL SEEK INITIAL "CONVERGENCIES" IN FOUR BROAD AREAS OF COMMON CONCERN: PUBLIC ORDER, THE ECONOMY, LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND EDUCATION. AS EXPLAINED

BY ZACCAGNINI, THE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE RATHER LENGTHY SINCE THE PROBLEMS ARE "COMPLEX IN THEIR NATURE."

2. THE NEGOTIATIONS TAKE PLACE IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL TENSION WITH THE RECOGNITION ON ALL SIDES THAT THE STAKES ARE HIGH. THE DC POSITION, ESTABLISHED AT LAST WEEK'S DIRECTORATE MEETING, FIRMLY REJECTS ANY AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD MODIFY THE EXISTING POLITICAL FRAMEWORK. THE DC WILL ACCORDINGLY SEEK AN ACCORD ON SPECIFIC, WELL-DEFINED ISSUES THAT COULD NOT BE INTERPRETED AS EVIDENCE OF A POLITICAL AGREEMENT OR ALLIANCE WITH THE PCI. THE PCI, ON THE OTHER HAND, BEGINS THE NEGOTIATIONS FROM THE POSITION THAT IF A PROGRAMMATIC ACCORD IS POSSIBLE, THEN IT WILL IN ITSELF BE A POLITICAL AGREEMENT. THE AMBIGUITY OF THE SITUATION HAS MADE FOR A GREAT DEAL OF UNEASE WITHIN THE DC AND THE PCI ALIKE.

3. ALTHOUGH THE DC DIRECTORATE APPROVED THE MORO NEGOTIATING LINE (REFTEL), IT DID SO WITH STRINGS ATTACHED (ANY PROPOSED AGREEMENT MUST BE RATIFIED FIRST BY THE DIRECTORATE OR EVEN THE NATIONAL COUNCIL). IN SUBSEQUENT DAYS, PARTY LEADERS HAVE BEEN ADMONISHED BY ALL SIDES TO HOLD FIRM AGAINST ANY CONCESSION SMACKING OF A POLITICAL ALLIANCE WITH THE PCI. AT A FORZE NUOVE CONVENTION IN TAORMINA, DONAT-CATTIN TALKED DARKLY OF THE NEED FOR A NEW ELECTORAL TEST (A VIEW THAT REPRESENTS A SMALL BUT SIGNIFICANT MINORITY). APPREHENSIONS APPEAR GREATEST IN THE DC
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ROME 07367 01 OF 02 051945Z

PARLIAMENTARY GROUPS WHICH HAVE ENJOINED PICCOLI AND BARTOLOMEI TO EXERCISE EXTREME CAUTION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. MOREOVER, THE CHURCH (IN A STRONGLY WORDED EDITORIAL IN AVVENIRE; SEE ROME 7311), DC-INTEREST GROUPS (LAY CATHOLIC AND FARMER ORGANIZATIONS) AND PRIVATE CITIZENS GROUPS SUCH AS MILLE (WHICH TOOK OUT LARGE NEWSPAPER ADS) HAVE ALL REMINDED THE DC IN NO UNDERTAIN TERMS TO REMAIN TRUE TO ITS ELECTION PLEDGE TO KEEP THE COMMUNISTS OUT OF GOVERNMENT.

4. THE COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP WILL HAVE TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT ITS OWN INTERNAL PRESSURES. IT WILL HAVE TO PROVE TO ITS HARD-CORE RANK-AND-FILE THAT ANY UNDERSTANDING IT REACHES WITH THE DC WILL HAVE IMPORTANT POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE AS A "STEP FORWARD". THE PCI CONCLUDED A TWO-DAY MEETING OF ITS DIRECTORATE MAY 3 WITHOUT ISSUING A COMMUNIQUE OR FINAL DOCUMENT (ALTHOUGH IT IS CLEAR THAT THE PROGRAMMATIC ACCORD WAS

AT THE CENTER OF THE DEBATE). REFLECTING THE DIFFICULT DILEMMA IN WHICH THE PCI NOW FINDS ITSELF, THE DIRECTORATE DECIDED TO CONVOKE A CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING FOR MAY 12 AT WHICH TIME IT CAN BE EXPECTED THAT THE WIDEST POSSIBLE CONSENSUS WILL BE SOUGHT ON HOW THE PCI SHOULD PROCEED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS. (IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE THAT THE PCI WILL USE THE OCCASION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING TO INTRODUCE ITS LONG-HERALDED MEDIUM TERM PLAN, WHICH HAS BEEN DELAYED ON THE DRAWING BOARDS BY PARTY PREOCCUPATION WITH ITS POLITICAL POSITION.)

5. AS THE PCI DIRECTORATE WAS IN SESSION, L'UNITA MAY 3 PUBLISHED A FRONT-PAGE EDITORIAL BY PARTY PRESIDENT LUIGI LONGO ENTITLED "WHITH REGARD TO THE POLITICAL FRAMEWORK". LONGO SHARPLY CRITICIZED THE DC FOR ITS INTRANSIGENCE IN REFUSING TO CHANGE THE PRESENT
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 ROME 07367 01 OF 02 051945Z

POLITICAL FRAMEWORK WHICH PLACES ON THEM RESPONSIBILITY FOR A WORSENING OF THE COUNTRY'S PRESENT CRISIS. MORE IMPORTANT, HOWEVER, IS LONGO'S APPARENTLY CAUTIONARY WARNING TO PARTY SECRETARY BERLINGUER AND HIS FOLLOWERS REGARDING THE DIFFICULT SITUATION

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 ROME 07367 02 OF 02 052026Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 /058 W

-----052133Z 023749 /66

R 051740Z MAY 77
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4413
INFO AMCONSUL MILAN
AMCONSUL NAPLES
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 ROME 7367

IN WHICH THE PCI NOW FINDS ITSELF. HE WROTE THAT THE "WEARING DOWN OF FORCES OF THE LEFT BY THE DC WHICH WOULD LIKE TO GAIN MUCH BUT GIVE LITTLE IS 'IMPROBABLE BUT NOT IMPOSSIBLE', AND IT IS AN ACTION WHICH WOULD BE DISASTROUS FOR THE FUTURE OF THE COUNTRY." CONTINUING LONGO WARNED THAT "WE ARE FACING AN ALTERNATIVE: EITHER ONE CREATES THE CONDITIONS FOR A CHANGE OR IT WILL BE DIFFICULT TO AVOID A MODERATE SET-BACK OR SOMETHING WORSE." THE VOICE OF LONGO CARRIES WEIGHT AS THE ELDER STATEMAN OF THE PARTY, AND HIS CONCERNS CANNOT HELP BUT BE NOTED BY THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP. THIS IS THE SECOND TIME THAT HE HAS SPOKEN OUT IN A CAUTIONARY NOTE IN RECENT MONTHS, THE LAST TIME BEING AT A CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEETING LAST OCTOBER WHEN HE URGED THE PARTY NOT TO LOSE SIGHT OF THE INTERESTS OF ITS WORKING CLASS BASE.

6. THE PRESSURES ON BERLINGUER TO ASSURE THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS CULMINATE IN A DEMONSTRABLE "FORWARD STEP" MAY EXPLAIN THE EFFORTS OF THE PCI LEADER OVER THE PAST TWO DAYS TO DEVELOP A COORDINATED POSITION
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 ROME 07367 02 OF 02 052026Z

WITH THE PSI, PRI AND PSDI (THE LIBERALS ALONE HAVE WARILY WARNED OF THE POLITICAL DANGERS INHERENT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS). IN SEPARATE MEETING WITH CRAXI AND LA MALFA (AND A TELEPHONE CONSULTATION WITH ROMITA IN GERMANY), BERLINGUER OBTAINED PUBLIC ASSURANCES THAT THE LEFT LAY PARTIES WILL WORK CLOSELY WITH THE PCI TO ASSURE THAT THE AGREEMENT WILL HAVE "POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE". COMMENT: WHILE THE PCI CONTINUES TO REGARD THE DC AS ITS ONLY REAL, NEGOTIATING COUNTERPART, IT AGAIN DEMONSTRATED ITS ABILITY TO MAKE TACTICAL USE OF THE LAY PARTIES' ABNEGATION OF THEIR INDEPENDENT, INTERMEDIARY ROLE TO CREATE A PERVASIVE CLIMATE OF PRESSURES TO ADVANCE THE PCI'S OVERALL POLITICAL STRATEGY. END COMMENT

7. WHILE THE PCI'S DEMANDS FOR A POLITICAL STEP FORWARD ARE BOTH SERIOUS AND INSISTENT, PCI SPOKESMEN ALSO EVIDENCE CONSIDERABLE MODERATION AND CAUTION. THUS, DIGIULIO (DEPUTY LEADER OF THE PCI GROUP IN THE CHAMBER) RECENTLY ALLOWED THAT A PROGRAMMATIC ACCORD WOULD BE EVIDENCE IN ITSELF OF A POLITICAL AGREEMENT THAT ADVANCED THE PCI'S GOVERNMENT ROLE. AND IN AN OTHERWISE HARD-HITTING ARTICLE IN THE PCI'S WEEKLY, RINASCITA, PARTY SECRETARY CHIAROMONTE ADMITTED THAT A RESORT TO EARLY ELECTIONS WOULD BE "A VERY SERIOUS

DEVELOPMENT." CHIAROMONTE ALSO INTERESTINGLY
SAID THAT ONE SHOULD NOT "UNDERESTIMATE THE POLITICAL
IMPORTANCE" OF THE NEW RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DC
AND THE PCI EVIDENCED BY LAST WEEK'S BILATERAL EN-
COUNTER BETWEEN ZACCAGNINI AND BERLINGUER--THE FIRST FORMAL
MEETING OF DC AND PCI PARTY SECRETARIES IN 30 YEARS.
AT THE CONCLUSION OF TODAY'S (MAY 5) MEETING WITH THE
DC, BERLINGUER CHARACTERIZED IT AS "USEFUL AND
POSITIVE" WHILE UNDERLINING THE DIFFICULTIES CAUSED
IN PART BY THE "DISAGREEMENTS THAT EXIST WITHIN THE
DC."GARDNER
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 ROME 07367 02 OF 02 052026Z

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PARTY UNITY, POLITICAL SETTLEMENT, PARTY MEETINGS, MEETING REPORTS, POLITICAL SITUATION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 05-May-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1977ROME07367
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D770158-0510
Format: TEL
From: ROME
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1977/newtext/t19770589/aaaaczhr.tel
Line Count: 241
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 4969179a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 77 ROME 6906
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 15-Mar-2005 12:00:00 am
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2627942
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS BEGIN FOR PROGRAMMATIC ACCORD
TAGS: PINT, IT, DC
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/4969179a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009